Abstract

ROWANDOZ: A KURDISH ADMINISTRATIVE AND MERCANTILE CENTER

by William H. Masters

This study has two purposes, the first of which is an analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowandoz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile town of northern Iraq. In carrying out this purpose, it is necessary to make reference to wider cultural horizons in Iraq and the Middle East. On the other hand, inasmuch as detailed, localized treatments of the Kurds have not been previously attempted, this study of Rowandoz is able to contribute to the ethnology of the Middle East. The Kurds are a Muslim people numbering several millions, who inhabit the mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the modern state on the structure of the society of the town and the district within which it lies. The materials were obtained from seven weeks' intensive investigation in the summer of 1951.

An analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowandoz are presented in six areas of discussion: 1) the administrative center, 2) the mercantile center, 3) homes, dress, and diet, 4) the society, 5) the family, 6) religious life. The population of the town numbers about 3000 and is basically made up of merchants,

[p. i(a)]

CHAPTER I

KURDISTAN AND KURDISTS

Kurdistan, "the land of the Kurds," is an area of the 101
Middle East which cannot be defined by its environmental peculiarities or its political unity. The Kurds, a Muslim people whose numbers are estimated at several millions, occupy that mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet, an arc of land extending approximately from Aleppo to Tabriz. This corresponds to the southern portion of the complex of mountains sometimes called the "Armenian Knot," in which the Taurus and Black Sea ranges of Turkey join before fanning out as the Elburz and Zagros formations of Iran. Politically, Kurdistan is divided between five governments, and for centuries has been a party to the frontier warfare of Iran, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia. Until recent decades the "Armenian Knot" has been the home of peoples who have resisted absorption into the larger nations of the Middle East, some by force of arms and others peacefully as relics of almost forgotten Christian and Muslim sects. Of such groups, one might mention the Armenians, historically the northern neighbors of the Kurds, the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians, the Yezidis of Jebel Sinjar, and the Druses of Lebanon and Syria. To the north, in the Caucasus, were the Christian

characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this collision, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Save at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter season of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

The Kurdish town of Rowanduz is to be found in the mountains fifty miles northeast of Erbil. In older days Rowanduz was directly on the trade route between Erbil and Iran, but the recent construction of an automobile highway by the British has removed it from the main stream of what remains of this traffic.[1] The exact antiquity of the town is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the headquarters of Mar Busha, a chieftain who gained temporary

[1]Recounted in Hamilton, 1937.

Figure 1. Sketch Map of the Middle East

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Figure 2. Sketch Map of the Rowandus District

3:Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, though marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not assume that marriage relations and matrimonial ties have indeed no relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Features of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down to the plains in the winter. The great majority are today subsistence farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the *tira*, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the tira varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the apical ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Warda Shatti (location: cantoning in Sulaimani Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Several tira may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Louis J. Luzbetak, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Vienna, 1951).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" (in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, London, 1913); E. R. Leach, *Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds* (Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 3, London, 1940); Frederik Barth, *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* (Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 *The Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950).

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Map of the Middle East. The oblong panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plain around Baghdad.

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were made into the area with stays at houses whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Rakiba and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used: hired cars, primitive local lorries, mules and horses. If no private homes were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exceptions of the necessary visits to the Dokan Dam Site in order to view the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, who every fortnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a couple visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshara, I lived all the time I was in the country (5th May - 5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connection with the forwarding of my collection. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Topzawa-Rakawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Sirkan, making a lengthy trip to Rawanduz via Kirkuk, Mirwal and Erbil in order to determine some costume variants. When I was to leave Kurdistan my interpreter and an elder brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

Detail map of the area visited. The area is covered by R.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 388, 427 and 428.

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Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the women interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the shafi'i rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to-day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nisaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Sanna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakhs and Lurs related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 3 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1639, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

[P. 5]

S: Edmonds G-S (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

I.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal ethnical boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four liwas[1] which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet of Mosul: Mosul (31% of the total population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (12%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent qadhas[2] of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians compactly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Köprü, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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1 [Territorial-administrative units, with wiqads sub-divided into liwas which are subdivided into qadhas.—Analyst.]

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

However, the formal political organization gives only a partial picture of the actual power hierarchy and organization in the village; and the remainder of the paper will attempt to show how this power hierarchy emerges, and what the characteristics of the resulting types of social organization are.

By way of introduction, the ethnic position and history of the Kurds should be sketched briefly. The great majority of Kurds are today, and have been for some time, settled or transhumant joint cereal agriculturalists and stock-breeders; some tribes are still purely pastoral nomads, of what has been called the «vertical», Persian type. The Kurds inhabit the mountainous crescent stretching from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia; the backbone of this crescent is formed by the Zagros mountains. Towards the Mesopotamian plain they extend roughly through the foothill area; to the North and East, Kurdish territory blends into that of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In much of their area, Kurds make up only a minority of the total population. Southern Kurdistan is, on the other hand, almost exclusively inhabited by Kurds. (cf. Map No. 1.)

The population density in most Kurdish territory is very low, the characteristic settlement pattern is in small, compact villages of 50 to 300 inhabitants, widely scattered over the area. The Kurds today are estimated to number some 3 million (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1911), but of that figure a great number are urbanized or turkicized, and Kurds by descent only.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and shows great similarity to Persian, but also exhibits features that suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. Literary efforts in Kurdish have been only sporadic. Historical records seem to accord Kurds as an ethnic group considerable antiquity in the area (Minorsky, 1913), assuming them to be the Carduks who harried the retreat of Xenophon's 10 000 (401—400 B.C.). Early converted to Islam, independent Kurd principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, but generally played a minor role (except in producing Sultan Saladin at the time of the 3rd Crusade). A major part of

[text continues on p. 12]

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 90A11 Kurd 90A11

Kurdish territory was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I., 175
but retained considerable local autonomy, leading to adjustment
rather than replacement of traditional Kurdish organization.

The area generally called Southern Kurdistan, where the present 131 •
material was collected, may be delimited on ethnic and geographical
grounds (cf. Map. No. 2). It is bounded on the north by the Lesser
Zab, on the south by the Diyala river. To the east it stretches up
into the Zagros mountains to the Persian frontier. A western border
can only be drawn on ethnic, and rather arbitrary criteria, since
Kurdish territory extends in part beyond the foothill area, into a
a zone where Kurd and Arab villages and villages mingle.

Physiographically, the area is characterized by a series of ridges (193
running NW—SE, building up towards the Persian mountains. The
drainage pattern is rather complex, partly leading to the Lesser Zab,
partly to the Diyala, and some smaller rivers dissipating in the dry
areas south and west of the city of Kirkuk.

In the lowlands, the «Garmian» (hotlands) of the Kurds, condi-
tions approach semi-desert, and agriculture becomes increasingly
difficult. Kurdish territory stretches in places to the edge of what
has been called the rainfall zone (Warriner, 1948, p. 100), but
generally falls somewhat short of this, leaving the remaining area
to Arab agriculturalists with an identical economy.

Though predominantly Kurdish, the area shows some ethnic diver- 162
sity. There is contact with permanent Arab settlements in a rather
broad zone of mixture. Bedouin herdsmen in the summer graze their
camels as far as the Chemchemal valley, and have at times remained
in the area continuously for several years. The city of Kirkuk has a
considerable Turkish-speaking population, and Turkish-speaking
villages may still be found in a wide stretch of the lower districts.
Some 100 years ago, Turkoman nomads occupied some of these areas
(Rich, 1836). The town of Sulaimani had till 1911 a considerable
Jewish population, as well as the still persisting small Chaldaean
Christian minority.

The Kurds themselves exhibit considerable diversity, ranging from
tribally organized nomadic herdsmen to feudal peasants. The Gar-
mian lowlands are mainly peopled by detribalized tenant farmers.

554 addressed by it. Ali Agha of Bayat's Hill title to Hajji Ali Agha and he is sometimes addressed simply as Hajji. The nephew of Sheik Amin of Sangesiar had also made the pilgrimage and I never heard him called anything but Hajji.

The title Sayyid implies a descendant of the Prophet and carries with it the right to wear a green turban. The descent is probably in most cases apocryphal; anyway the Sayyids whom I met had every appearance of being pure bred Kurds. In the Balik area the only persons claiming this honour are the two Shaikhs of Shaikan and Nim - Alaeddin and his uncle Shaikhillah.

554 609 The Turkish term Effendi is frequently applied to town notables who have no tribal linkage and thus cannot be called Aghas - thus Mustapha Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz. Similarly it is a title applied to scholars - my interpreter was known everywhere as Shevin Effendi.

Bakin (arabic 'Doctor') is applied only to foreigners. I acquired this title myself after resolutely refusing to be either a 'Lord' or a 'Major'.

The field of investigation

102 The field of investigation is shown on the two maps at the end of this volume. It has been found impossible in a single colour line drawing to show the contour features of the country at all adequately and altitudes are merely indicated in figures. The area is covered by sections I 38 and J 38 of the International Map of the World (Scale 1: 1,000,000) while the Rowanduz area appears on section L. 38 on the 4 miles to 1 inch War Office map of Iraq, Persia and Turkey in Asia.

102 Map 1 which shows the whole of the Erbil Liwa of Iraqi-Kurdistan is divided into three areas A, B and C having both geographic
• 131 and ethnographic significance.

[487] A. Rowanduz. This area, the main field of study, is shown in enlarged scale on Map 2. Prior to the construction of the motor road some ten years ago, this area was extremely inaccessible. Practically the only way of reaching the region was by way of a bandit infested mule track that led along the edge of the precipitous "Rowanduz Gorge. The area is extremely mountainous. Rowanduz itself is some 3,000 feet above sea level and the peaks on the Persian border reach above 12,000 feet. Cool and well watered it presents a tremendous contrast to the arid plains of Mesopotamia. Comparitively little land is suitable for cultivation, and the steep inclines preclude the adoption of modern methods of agriculture.

* For photographs see Map pp. 220, 222.

E Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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a mature economy of agriculture. The villages we will be seen from [illegible] are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village [illegible] particularly the whole area is seen bound throughout the winter. Before [illegible] war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the [illegible] Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the [illegible] the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy applied by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Hay. Crudely summarized it may be said [illegible] that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately [illegible] backed the wrong men" the administration eventually achieved a [illegible] relative tranquillity by paying all the important leaders a substantial [illegible] salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of [illegible] this will be referred to later. Following the abolishment of the [illegible] mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities [illegible] to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". "A strategic road [illegible] was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowanduz and continued to [illegible] Penjwin. In the Pavilion territory a large military barracks was established at [illegible] Penjwin with subsidiary police posts at Bapir and Balula. The [illegible] economic and political consequences of the building of this road have [illegible] been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A [illegible] are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winters; the [illegible] extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication [illegible] between the various villages; and the fact that such "tribal dis- [illegible] integration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for [illegible] the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment [illegible] of permanent police authority in the Bapir valley.

B. Penjwin Area. This area corresponding approximately to [illegible] the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an [illegible] almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other [illegible] hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical [illegible] considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the [illegible] inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins [illegible] to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact [illegible] with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. [illegible] At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as [illegible] political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense [illegible] "directly administered" by the police. Hay's account (1920) makes it [illegible] appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the [illegible] process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the [illegible] interval. The potential economic resources of the district are [illegible] probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder [illegible] climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.H.Smellie - Road through Kurdistan.

1/2 [Rowanduz -- Bapir]

St Andrews G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MAII Kurd MAII
Mahabad

In September 1941, the British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, toppling over the structure painfully erected by Reza Shah Pahlavi. As his soldiers scattered, they sold or surrendered their arms to the tribes which still roamed the desolate mountains of Iran, holding to their organization, mores, and way of life in spite of the old Shah's efforts to subdue them. Among those thus benefiting from the Iranian collapse were the Kurdish tribes occupying the mountains along the Iraqi and Turkish borders from Maku, in the shadow of Mount Ararat in the north, to Qasr-i-Shirin, on the Kermanshah-Baghdad road in the south.

In the north, the Kurdish tribes in the mountains west of Lake Urmieh found themselves contained by the strong Soviet garrisons in Rezaieh, Shahpur, Khoi, and Maku. In the absence of effective Iranian authority, the Soviets maintained direct relations with the tribes — the Jalali in the north, the Shikak in the mountains west of Shahpur, and the Herki west of Rezaieh. The chiefs of these tribes were allowed to manage their own affairs by the Soviets, who only required that they maintain security and provide grain for the Red Army. At the southern extreme of the Kurdish area, near the Kermanshah-Baghdad road — one of the main supply links between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union — British troops kept the tribes quiet.

It was in the large area between the British and Soviet forces, in the vacuum left by the fleeing Iranians, that the Kurds were able to regain their autonomy. At first the two main centers of disturbance were Mariwan and the Awroman Mountains, where Mahmud Khan of Kani-Sewan established a precarious hegemony; and Baneh, where Hama Rashid Khan, long in exile in Iraq, built up a principality which included Saqqiz and Sardasht. Both of these tribal chiefs were recognized for a time by the Iranian Government as semi-official governors of their areas, but were then driven into Iraq by the reorganized Iranian Army. By the fall of 1945, all of Kurdistan south of the Saqqiz-Baneh-Sardasht line was again firmly in government hands. The vacuum was thus reduced to the small area between this line and the Soviet forces based on Rezaieh, in which there was only one town of any size — Mahabad, formerly known as Sauj Bulagh, a few miles south of Lake Urmieh.

• [31] personality in England, the 'man on the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[84] The Kurd is born into a world of
[85] dancing and feasting, for relatives and friends celebrate his birth for three whole days and nights. As soon as he grows old enough to stand he toddles about the flat roof of his house, occasionally throwing stones over the edge at his brothers be-
[92] neath. When he reaches the age of five he
[293] is given clothes exactly like those of his father—in miniature. He is a proud lad when he puts on his first pair of baggy trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and several yards of coloured cloth wound round his waist, more silken squares tied round his head, and a yard or more of excess shirt-sleeve which he winds back over his cuff.

[93] He has another great festival when he is
304 [text continues on p. 54]

CHAPTER V.

Persia: Kurds, Circassians, Gudars and Turkomans.

The name Persia only indicates a geographical territory. If, and in how far, it is possible to disentangle the anthropology of its inhabitants will be discussed below.

For this purpose a study of the less-mentioned races may precede. According to SPISSER [1]) the Kurds are the descendants of the ancient Gutti or Qurti. At the present time most of the Kurds live in Kurdistan, a territory belonging partly to Persia, partly to Turkey, lying approximately between 35° and 40° N. lat., including the Ararat slopes and extending west to the Antitaurus in Central Turkey, and east to Hamadan in Persia (i.e. approximately between 37° and 47° E. long.). Besides, a large Kurdish colony, originating from S.E. Turkey (the Kemangans, Dimilkis and Mardin) has settled in Daressun. It is this colony that I examined with Mr. MINOS, a student of the American University of Beirut and a Kurd himself, to whom I wish to express my thanks for his help.

The literature concerning the Kurds is somewhat contradictory, as appears from the data concerning their cephalic index.

PELAT [2]) describes them as a Median race. DONIKOWSKY [3]), who measured five Kurds, found them to be brachycephalic (86.2).

CHANTRE [4]) who examined 100 Kurds (91 males and 49 females) from Kurdistan and Caucasus, found an average index of 79.33 (with variations from 70.09 to 86.4) for the males. A similar male average (79.48) was found by HAMBERGER [5]) with

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[1]) SPISSER (Mesopotamian original) supposes the Qurti or Guti to belong to the Proto-Zagrian or Elamian brachycephalic race. Although with 48 Kurds measured he found the KNIGHTONS found the prevailing index to be 84–85, the great majority of the present Kurds are mesocephalic.

[2]) PELAT, Perses. Des Land und seine Bewohner. Breslauer, Leipzig, 1865, p. 18.

[3]) DONIKOWSKY. Etudes sur les populations de la Perse. Paris 1882. Quoted from RANKEN. The original not being at my disposal, I cannot say where the Kurds measured by DONIKOWSKY lived.

[4]) CHANTRE. Recherches anthrop. en Asie occident. Arch. d. Mus. d'Hist. nat. de Lyon. Tome IV. 1885. See also CHANTRE: Aperçu sur les characteres ethniques des Arméniens et des Kurdes. Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Lyon. Tome I. 1881—1882, p. 165 and CHANTRE: Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans l'Asie occidentale et specialement dans les régions de l'Ararat et du Caucase. Arch. des missions scientifiques et littéraires. 3eme série. Tome X. 1883. In this paper (p. 42) CHANTRE emphasizes the variations in the Kurdish index, according to the people amongst whom they live. I am greatly indebted to Dr. CLAUDE COLLARD of the Museum des Sciences Naturelles de Lyon for the loan of these valuable papers.

[5]) HAMBERGER. Table of Kurdish measurements. Reports of the Anthropol. Soc. of Moscow 1880. Abstract in the Arch. f. Anthropologie, Bnd. 26, 1897, p. 446.